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are added branches of many-coloured crotons. When the toilet is finished, the bamboos are arranged regularly leaning against the branch of a tree, the decorated end on top, and the other resting on the ground. If the relatives are numerous, thirty or forty such trophies may be counted. In front of this array of bamboos and lying on the ground are fifty or sixty packets of yams carefully wrapped in dry banana leaves also decorated with *lok-lok* flowers.

Three-quarters of these yams are furnished by the bride's relatives. When everything has been so arranged, the view is an enchanting one from the natives' point of view, especially when a bright sun brings out the lively colouring of the crotons and *lok-lok* flowers. . . .

Morning of wedding day. Pigs for bride-price assembled.

All these preparations take place during the morning. There is a ceaseless and excited coming and going while the married women bring loads of yams and the young men decorate the bamboos. Now the sun is at its zenith; now is the time for the adult men. They are full of affairs; some cut the stakes to which the pigs are to be tied, while others, more numerous, lead in the "lord pigs," dragging them by a rope tied round one of their fore-feet (which the natives call "arms"). There are numberless pigs, and they raise every possible obstruction on the way; they seem in a bad humour; doubtless they have been well lodged, well fed, and now they have to change masters. Some waddle along in a leisurely way, as if used to the manœuvre; they have had to change hands so many times! What odds can it make once more or less! . . .

At last they arrive in the enclosure in front of the bridegroom's house, and are tied up here in the shade, for they detest the full heat of the sun.

As soon as the masters of ceremony have ascertained that the agreed bride-price in pigs is assembled, they begin to set out the pigs in the correct order. The first stake, that nearest the house, is destined for the most valuable boar, usually one of which the tusks have not only made a complete circle, but are also three-quarters of the way round towards completing a second; such a tusker has a marketable value of £50 or £60 in English money; this pig will go to the bride's father or her nearest living male relative in the paternal line. After this prize follow six *bouar*,[2] boars of which the tusks have made one complete circle and the third of another; each of these is worth £20. After this, four or five pigs of lesser value are

[1] I.e. consecrated tusked boars of high rank (see p. 259).

[2] Evidently the *bo-uare* of my list (see p. 243). The enormous increase in the value of the bride-price that has occurred during the past twenty years is commented on in Layard, 5, p. 349. Elsewhere he mentions a girl of 14 whose bride-price consisted of twenty-three tuskers, of which one was a circle-tusker valued at £40, another was worth £16 and the rest £1 to £4 each. He calculated that the total value of pigs was about £80, and of the yams about £5. (Letter to his mother, dated August 24th, 1925.)

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Islands of Malekula there are only two forms of currency, pigs and mats. 436
The mats in question are a special kind called *mangau*[1] (see Plate VI), [285]
henceforth referred to as money-mats, made of long strips of plaited mat-
erial 6 to 8 inches wide, dyed red on a yellow base, with very long fringes
on either side. Each mat is rolled up tightly, tied round with a strip of
coconut husk, and normally kept hanging in the owner's house, with the
long fringes hanging loose. Once rolled, they are never undone, and pass
as small currency and complimentary gifts from hand to hand till the long
fringes gradually become worn away and the mat finally becomes worth-
less and must be replaced.[2] These form the small change of native
currency. The capital currency is pigs.

Pig currency is based, not on the animal's size or the state of its flesh, 436
but exclusively on the elongation of its tusks. For this reason, sows are 435
not used as currency. Nor is the tusk of a dead boar of any commercial
value.[3] For it must be remembered that the pig is a sacrificial animal, and its ultimate worth rests exclusively on this fact, and on the rise in rank that a man achieves through sacrifice. As will be seen later, this rise in rank is exactly correlated with the size of the tusks of the sacrificed boar, and it is on this fact that the graded system is built up. When sacrificed, the tusked jaws of the victims are displayed on booths and otherwise hung up for the admiration of all comers and for the greater honour of the sacrificer. At a yet later stage, when the [301]
booths have been dismantled, the sacrificer may extract one of the tusks
and wear it on his wrist as a memorial of his exploit. Such display,
however, is merely a matter of record and personal vanity, and has no
other practical object, since the boar's value as such has ceased once its
main object in the eyes of the natives has been achieved, namely its
sacrifice and the resulting rise in rank bestowed on the sacrificer. The
whole value of the pig lies in its function as a prospective victim. For this
reason, a dead boar, or its tusks, are valueless as currency. It is the live
pig only that is valued, in proportion to the length of its tusks.

The reason for this, and the means by which the tusked boar is itself

[1] Equivalent to the North Raga *buama* (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 385). In Vao they are used also for wrapping up the dead, whence Speiser accounts for their value (see p. 542, note). These mats are quite distinct from the ordinary sleeping-mats called *beturu* and the fine mats called *to-mbagha*. For the use of mats as currency elsewhere see Codrington, 3, p. 323, and Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 443.

[2] Specimens of similar money-mats from Atchin are to be seen in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Layard Collection, Nos. 179 and 181. In that island they are called *ni-mbuen*, the same word as is used for women's mourning-caps. The material from which they are made is strips of pandanus fibre, rather coarser than that used for wearing apparel, and, like the wearing apparel, they are dyed yellow and red with conventionalised designs. No. 181, when unrolled, proved to be 9 feet long. The fringes of a good new mat will hang as much as 3 feet down on either side.

[3] Pigs' jaw-bones are, however, used as currency in the Torres Islands (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 460).

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436 invested with the sanctity which it will later, as victim, pass on to the
435 sacrificer, will be gone into below.[1] What we are at present concerned with is the overt value of the future victim, while yet alive, as an article of currency.

Rates of exchange based on the elongation of tusks.

The system of exchange is based on the first three of the four main grades of pig already listed, namely crescent-tusker, curved-tusker and re-entrant-tusker. Circle-tuskers are not used as currency, since they are too sacred to exchange and hold in their own lives the possibility of conferring on their owners, with due ritual, the highest rank in the Maki rite, which no man would forgo. The rates of exchange are worked out in great detail, pigs rising rapidly in value with the increased size of their tusks and at the same time the increased risk of their going sick and dying. For, precisely as the exchange may be regulated, the pigs are, after all, alive, and life implies death. In our own system of metal currency there is always the possibility of base coins, so that, in certain circles, a wise man will ring his shilling on the desk to test its worth. In trading with pigs, such questions are ever present, as the pig must not only be valued according to the size of its tusks, but also according to its likelihood of life. This question is not quite so serious as might at first sight appear, since sacrifices of every kind are so frequent, and the number of victims so great, that a weakly pig may always be selected for sacrifice and a strong one kept back for a future occasion. But the question is nevertheless always present in every bargain, so that a man will increase his wealth not only by judicious rearing and lending, but also by his good judgment as to the health of the animals that pass through his hands.

Subject to such considerations, the rates of exchange are well known and generally accepted in any one district. As these were worked out by me on Atchin, where I also recorded numerous actual transactions, as well as the technical terms accompanying them, I shall reserve a detailed exposition of the system for a future volume on that island.[2]

Pigs as payment.

436 The uses of the pig as an object of currency are too numerous for it to be possible to give here anything like a complete account. The Index at the end of the book will give some idea of the manifold transactions that take place. Definite payments include the enormous sums in tusked pigs paid as bride-price and the lesser sums previously paid to the

[1] See p. 257.

[2] The reader interested in rates of exchange may be referred to the table given in Deacon, 4, p. 196. According to this it will be seen, among other things, that in Lambumbu a pig (No. 5 in his list) corresponding in my terminology to "crescent-tusker" possesses about one-seventh of the value of a circle-tusker. Harrisson (2, p. 25) records that in Matanavat 40 pigs with the "tusk just sprouting," i.e. corresponding roughly with the Vao *bo ruhule*, might be of the same value as 1 circle-tusker.

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439 484 [501] undertaken, large numbers of tusked pigs are sacrificed in order to consecrate them, and the effect of this consecration is to make them taboo to women. In them the natives sail to all the large islands of the Northern New Hebrides, to Ambrim, Raga, Oba, Maewo, Malo and Santo. The chief sources of pigs are Ambrim and South Raga. Oba is chiefly visited on account of its reputation as the Land of Ta-ghar and for the special initiation rite performed there, but the trade in pigs with this island is now slight owing to its recent depopulation. Maewo, also known as the home of Ta-ghar, is now rarely visited. The trade with Malo and Santo is with pigs and turmeric leaves.

Voyages to the southern and eastern islands are usually made by night, the canoes leaving Vao in the late afternoon, and arriving at their destination some time during the following morning. Here they may stay anything up to five days, and then wait for a fair wind to take them home. The days are spent in bargaining. Emotion runs high, and there are many records of fights arising out of disputes, in some of which the visitors manage to save themselves, but in others they are slain and in most cases eaten. Individual accounts of such voyages as undertaken from Atchin will be given in a later volume.

To such lengths will the natives go to keep up their supply of pigs.

Value of tusked boars in terms of English money.

435 436 434 Before seeking the underlying reason for this passionate search, one more fact may be mentioned to show the immense value attached to these animals. During the time of my visit there was but little European money in the Small Islands, acquired chiefly by means of the very low wages earned by the indentured labour undertaken by some of the younger men on white men's plantations, supplemented by the selling of a little copra to passing white men's trading-vessels. The amount of money thus made is not very great. What they do make is partly spent in buying white men's goods, such as an occasional singlet or piece of corrugated iron, partly saved up to buy whalers which now replace the sea-going canoes I have just mentioned, and partly used for trading among themselves, in which case it usually replaces their own money-mats. Pigs are not often sold for money, but when this does happen, the prices they fetch 435 are such as to astound the white man, who fails to understand what it is all about. Thus, when I was on Atchin, prices averaged:

For a crescent-tusker	.	about £4 [1]
,, curved-tusker	.	,, £6
,, re-entrant-tusker	.	,, £10, £12 or £15
,, circle-tusker	.	from £30 upwards.

[1] Deacon (4, p. 391), six years later, cites a crescent-tusker in Seniang, there called *mbong mwûs*, as being worth £5, with corresponding prices for pigs of lower grade.

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Godefroy, a few years later, on Vao, described a circle-tusker as fetching £40, and a circle-plus-re-entrant-tusker (i.e. a boar with tusks describing a complete circle and a half) as commanding as much as £50 or £60.[1] When the paucity of money possessed by the natives is taken into account, these represent fabulous sums.

RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE TUSKED BOAR

Tusked boar the sacrificial animal. Identification of victim, sacrificer, and Being to whom sacrifice is made.

In the last paragraph I used the word "fabulous" not only metaphorically, but with intent. For the importance of the tusked boar in Small Island culture depends not on material but on spiritual values.

I have already said that its prime value rests on the fact that the tusked boar is the sacrificial animal. And sacrifice in these islands implies the identification of the victim, the sacrificer, and the mythical being to whom sacrifice is made.

Now there is ample proof that the sacrifice of tusked boars in Malekula and the Small Islands replaces the sacrifice of human beings. The evidence for this will be discussed in detail when we come to examine the religious institution of the Maki. It is here necessary briefly to anticipate this evidence in order to establish the motives underlying the reverence accorded to these animals and the zeal with which their cult is prosecuted. The evidence is a little complicated since, till the white man put a stop to cannibalism wherever his jurisdiction (i.e. his guns) could reach, the practice of human sacrifice did in fact exist, alongside the sacrifice of tusked boars. As the reader will have already gathered, however, Small Island culture is far from simple, and, as in all cultures, practices continue to exist which the official religion ignores. The official religion is the Maki, and it is in this that human sacrifice has been entirely replaced by the sacrifice of pigs. It is around this rite also, and its associated mythology, that the whole emotional attitude towards pigs centres.

Ta-ghar and Le-hev-hev.

We have already met with the two mythological figures of Ta-ghar and Le-hev-hev. These two form a mythological duality consisting of two opposites, namely, Ta-ghar, the male god of light who occupies the heavens, and Le-hev-hev, the being of uncertain sex who lives in a cave

[1] See p. 195. In the same passage dealing with bride-price he gives £20 as the value of a *boar*, which he describes as a pig "of which the tusks have made one complete circle and a third of another." This term is, however, primarily applied to a simple re-entrant-tusker, and it is probably to such a tusker that Godefroy refers. If this is so, his price would agree tolerably well with mine, allowing for the evident rise in value since I was there.

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Proceedings begin with the dance called *Le-tean*, and when this is over, payment of pigs is made to all those living who have previously made the sail of a sea-going canoe.[1] These pigs are presented by the chief owner placing them one by one upon his shoulder and calling on the receiver to come and take it. *Tunen* is then danced till dawn, when pigs are killed and placed on heaps of yams for each village represented. There is no *na-leng*.

The sail is then taken to the beach and placed on the canoe. This is then launched and the sail hoisted, and as they sail away the crew stand on the outrigger-platforms dancing and singing songs of the *Tunen* song-and-dance cycle.

CONSECRATION RITE (GODEFROY'S ACCOUNT)

The Inauguration dance, of which the above is a brief and incomplete account, is probably connected with the Consecration rite which Godefroy records:

"This rite has for its object the putting of a taboo on the canoe or whaler, that is to say, making them taboo to women. Once such a vessel is consecrated, no woman may touch it, far less embark on it. . . .

"In 1926, the four smaller clans of Vao—always associated together against the two larger—combined to buy a whaler 30 feet long; it cost them £200. As they received delivery of it about New Year's Day, they called it 'New-year,' which they pronounce *niouyet*.[2] For three months it lay at anchor off the beach belonging to Norohure, save for a few short journeys to the neighbouring islets and to the Canal du Segond.

"On account of the ravages of the sea-worms which live in those warm waters and bore through the keels of wooden boats, they hastened to construct a shelter for their beautiful whaler. They immediately made this shelter taboo, by sacrificing a pig in the dancing-ground. This shelter is one of the four existing on the shores of the island; I say 'exist,' for in fact there was only one left standing at the time the shelter in question was erected, the others had fallen in and rotted where they were, but the natives referred to them as if they still existed, on account of the sacrifices that had been made for them.

"As for the whaler, she received a grand consecration, similar to that of one of the great chiefs.[3] In her honour were sacrificed a dozen great tusked boars and a hundred cocks and hens, and two tons of yams were offered and placed, all decorated, on the great *kal-kal*.[4] . . . Then the natives danced all night till dawn, as is done in the great [Maki] rites.

[1] I.e. when the canoe is made and owned by the active "line" of Maki-men, to the members of the introducing "line."

[2] A typical example of French transliteration. The *t* is of course silent.

[3] The word "chief" is used throughout this account to mean "man of high Maki rank."

[4] Yam-table.